

A FULL ACCOUNT
OF THE
FAREWELL FESTIVAL

GIVEN TO
ROBERT OWEN, Esq.,
ON HIS
DEPARTURE FOR AMERICA,
WITH
REPORTS OF THE SPEECHES

OF
MESSRS. ELLIS, HOLYOAKE, FLEMING, A. CAMPBELL, SOUTHWELL
AND MRS. CHAPPELLSMITH;

ALSO,
MR. OWEN'S
SECOND LEGACY TO THE HUMAN RACE.

August 1844

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PRICE TWOPENCE.

1844.

FESTIVAL TO MR. OWEN.

ON Sunday, the 11th inst., a Public Breakfast was given to Mr. Owen by the Metropolitan Branches of the Rational Society. The earnest desire to testify the sincerity of their esteem to the venerable founder of the Rational System caused a large attendance of members and friends from all parts of the metropolis and many well known and tried supporters from distant parts of England, all anxious to avail themselves of this, perhaps the only opportunity of again joining in the advantages of his instruction and fellowship.

The entertainment, in accordance with the usual custom, commenced with an excellent repast provided by the steward of the Institution, Mr. Davis, consisting of the usual viands, and was arranged by that gentleman with the utmost care and skill. The number of persons who sat down to breakfast could not have amounted to much less than 600, notwithstanding which, there was nothing to cause the least dissatisfaction, but on the contrary, elicited the compliments of most present.

The pleasing task being concluded, the Chorus, conducted by Mr. Jennings, executed in good style "Awake Eolian Lyre." The chair was taken by Mr. Clark, president of Branch A1, who called upon Mr. Fleming to open the more important business of the morning by presenting the first address to Mr. Owen.

Mr. FLEMING said that the address which he had the honour to present was from the President and Council of Branch A1, which he said so completely expressed his own feelings that he would not occupy their time further, than by reading it; it was as follows—

"REVERED AND BELOVED SIR.—The president, council, members and candidates of Branch A1 of the Rational Society, take occasion, from the announcement of your intended voyage to the United States, to give public expression to the respect and affection with which they regard you as an individual, and of their devotion to those principles, of which you have been the unwearied and consistent propounder.

"These principles preclude the ascription of merit or demerit, praise or blame to individuals, but it is at the same time instinctive in humanity to love and reverence GOODNESS and GREATNESS; hence these are our feelings towards you. Your long life has been an undeviating exhibition of the purest benevolence—the most generous disinterestedness. Your faculties, fortune, and time have been entirely devoted to the task of regenerating society, and thereby reforming the human character; so that in thought, word, and act, all might at all times be guided by the dictates of reason, and manifest that comprehensive charity which is the inevitable deduction from the first principles of the Rational System of Society.

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"A change so great—so radical—in man and his institutions, based upon principles so demonstrable and consistent, has never before been propounded to the world. At the commencement of your labours you stood alone—now your disciples are to be found in all countries and climes—the impress of your mind is visible in every direction, and time as it rolls on will only the more plainly evidence the depth and extent of the influence which you have exerted over this and coming ages. Every improvement in our literature—every attempt at improved social and educational institutions—every effort to apply the theories of modern science to the multiplication of the material means of happiness, is but aiding, directly or indirectly, the great social revolution you have originated. This is a great work to have accomplished in one life-time—it is the best return you could possibly have for your labours: and we may be permitted to rejoice with you in the contemplation of past efforts, in the exultation over hopes for the future.

"We had hoped that, at your advanced period of life, you would tranquilly and usefully, as usual, have passed the evening of your days among us, without exposing yourself to the risks of such a long voyage and journey as that you are about to undertake. You are, however, the property of no particular country or nation. The friend of mankind—your mission is to reconstruct society and to so form the human character everywhere—

"That man to man, the world o'er,

"Shall brother be.

"It appears to you necessary, in the performance of the duties of this mission, that you should visit America; we feel too deeply interested in its fulfilment, to speak of regret at your decision: the individual pleasure arising from having you among us, must give way to the general benefit.

"We are, however, encouraged to hope that you will, if life and health be spared, return to us next spring; and fervently shall we welcome you back to your rightful position of patriarch to our society—gladly renew that intercourse with you, which is to us so invaluable.

"In your absence we will do the best that our experience and means will permit, to promote the spread and influence of the benign principles of which we are the disciples; and we cherish the hope, that ere many months have elapsed, we shall meet again under even more favourable circumstances than the present.

"Your appearance among the social reformers of the United States at this period will, we trust, be productive of great benefit, and give an increased impetus to the rapid and wide-spread social movement now going on in that republic. We trust, also, that during your absence, you will have ample opportunities of conferring with those at the head of its affairs, and of impressing them with a sense of the momentous and important nature of

your views in the present excited and unsatisfactory state of the world.

"May that happiness which it has been the labour of your life to bestow on others, continue to be richly enjoyed by you wherever you may be; and may we speedily again enjoy the pleasure of seeing you among us.

"ROBERT CLARKE, President.

"August 11, 1844."

Mr. OWEN rose, and addressing the meeting as brothers, sisters, and children, said, he hoped that the time was not far distant when there would only be parents, brothers, and sisters throughout the world, animated by the strongest family affection. The address just read was highly gratifying to him, it was most satisfactory, and, as a document, all he could wish. Towards its conclusion he thought there was something like regret expressed at the present unsatisfactory state of the world. He was glad it was so, inasmuch as the dissatisfaction—he would call it the *glorious* dissatisfaction—existing in this and other countries was the sure precursor of the great changes he had so long advocated. It showed that the present system had failed to accomplish the objects for which man associates in society—employment, education and enjoyment for all;—and were it not that its incapacity to secure to mankind that universal want of their nature—happiness—was now so palpable, he should look much farther into the future, for the realization of his hopes, the fruition of his labours, than he now did. He hoped that the disciples of the Rational System were now prepared to merge all individualism in the universal, to cease all those personalities which were the natural offspring of the old immoral world but which were altogether alien to the spirit and the practice of the new moral world. They believed that no one formed himself, or created his own convictions or feelings—how then could they possibly feel anger on account of inevitable differences in these respects? He hoped on his return early next spring, to find that in his absence the members had been exercising their minds so as to get rid of all personalities, to become really united, and to apply the principles of which they were the professed disciples to practice. Whenever they were so, there would be no anger, no jealousy, no revenge, no other desire but to promote the happiness of each other. The spirit of fault-finding, either with each other or with the world, must be destroyed as an obstacle to the attainment of their great object—of creating a new mind, a new spirit in man, and of thereby making his actions at all times tend to the promotion of the happiness of his race, and of all that has life. It would delight him, on his return, to find this spirit prevailing among them, and that the true family feeling knit them together, which would be the sure result of the practice of the principles. He congratulated them on the appearance of the meeting, and observed, that as he understood other business would be brought before

them, which would require him to address them, he would not longer occupy their time. Mr. Owen, on resuming his seat, was greeted with long continued demonstrations of respect and applause.

The choir then sung "Long may life and health bespare him."

Mr. J. C. SMITH presented the following address from the Utilitarian Association.

"RESPECTED SIR.—Permit the Members of the Utilitarian Association to join with their fellow members of the Rational Society in expressing their hopes, fears, and good wishes, concerning yourself, and the benevolent work you have in hand.

"We feel we would be guilty of ingratitude towards you, and unjust to our own feelings, were we to allow the present opportunity, perhaps the last in our life of addressing you, to pass unheeded.

"We regret that England is not prepared to test, by practice, the truth of the principles and plans you have so ably developed, and unceasingly taught, during a long and useful life; but hope that the country you are going to may give the everlasting truths, of which you are the bearer, a more attentive hearing, and means more commensurate to the speedy and successful reduction of them to practice, than has been given to them in the land you are leaving.

"When we reflect upon the almost superhuman efforts you have made to awaken this country to a sense of the dangers of longer continuing the present chaotic state of things on the one hand, and to an appreciation of the beauty, truth, and consequent simplicity of the system of society, of which you are the founder, on the other, we feel that England's best friend is leaving her shores; and are strongly reminded of the beautiful yet mournful words of Jesus the reformer, when he exclaimed, 'Oh! Jerusalem, Jerusalem! how often would I have gathered your children together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ye would not.'

"While, for England's sake, we regret your departure, yet have we reason to rejoice that the country you are going to is the one we have chosen for our future home; and although we may never meet, there will be some consolation in knowing that we are co-labourers in the land that is destined to lead the nations of the earth, by her example, to the adoption of the Rational System of Society.

"In conclusion, respected friend, we wish you a safe and comfortable voyage across the Atlantic, and a hearty welcome to the republic, and hope ere long to be able to invite you to our home in the West; but should we, by the unrelenting decree of nature, be denied that pleasure;—May you live as long as existence shall be pleasurable, and no longer, is the sincere desire of the Members of the Utilitarian Association.

"Signed on their behalf,

"August 11th, 1844."

"J. C. SMITH, Chairman.

Mr. G. J. HOLYOAKE then read the subjoined address, from the conductors of the *Movement*, which elicited repeated manifestations of approval, and, at its conclusion, was loudly cheered—

“The persons whose names are appended to this address, may be taken as representing a party, who, though belonging to the society of which you are the acknowledged head, are considered somewhat in the light of dissentients—for this reason, they have sought this opportunity of assuring you that whatever may be their difference of opinion, there is no difference in the affection they bear you.

“In you they recognise the benevolent sculptor, who out of the mishapen block of society has hewn the beautiful and breathing statue of co-operative humanity. A moral Euclid, you have done for society what that mathematician did for geometry—collected the scattered wisdom of earth’s sages, and given to it order, system, and practical utility. Other philosophers had pointed to what *should* be done—it remained for Robert Owen to propose *to do it*. For half a century humanity has known you as its friend. In both hemispheres you have borne witness against societarian error, and in the retreats of grandeur and the humble haunts of poverty, you have gone, like the herald of happiness, and pointed to the equality of mankind. By your writings wealth has been taught its true office, and enslaved industry the means of emancipation—human nature has been made the popular study of the multitude, and thought, both in the old world and the new, has received a lasting impetus. On all these accounts we naturally congratulate you, because, in whatever adds to the independence of humanity, perhaps more than other men, we are deeply interested.

“As recipients of those great metaphysical truths which you have been instrumental in disseminating to the world, we are your debtors. That it is our good fortune to seek the fabled blessings of religion only in the practice of morality, and to anticipate the guardianship of a providence in the triumphs of science, were first owing to your instruction and example. It is therefore not less our duty than our pleasure to bear testimony to the advantages of having lived within the sphere of your influence.

“It would be to impugn the high philosophy both of your writings and your life, were we deem it necessary to excuse ourselves for having, on some particulars, dissented from yourself. *Your* usefulness has emanated from independence of thought—and to respect individuality of sentiment is the proud characteristic of Socialism. To have broken in the blindness and bigotry of the age, and stimulated a nation to practical and liberal thinking, will ever be reckoned among your most honourable triumphs.

“It is not necessary that we wish that your visit to your family, to whom we desire our regards, may be a happy one. Whatever pertains to the province of affection, is, in your case,

no subject of anxiety. But if fortune can be influenced by our hopes, you will not only reach them in safety, but return in health to witness the realization of those plans of human progression with which the name of Robert Owen will, through future time, be associated.

“GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE.

“MALTUS QUESTAL RYALL.

“London, August 11, 1844.”

Mr. OWEN, in replying to these addresses, said he liked all forward movements, and was pleased to find the division of labour principle carried into the moral as well as the industrial world. Let them have done fighting with error, whether in the Society or out of it, and direct all their energies to the promulgation of the principles of the Society, and to the training of their own minds in the daily application of these principles to practice; until he saw such an application of them, he must feel there was a want of *true* knowledge of them. The addresses which had just been read emanated from some of his young and more ardent disciples, who appeared to be of opinion that his mode of reaching the new moral world was rather long and tedious, and were, therefore, desirous of getting there by a short cut. Perhaps, notwithstanding his experience with men and society, he might be wrong, and they might be right; he thought it unlikely: but should it be so, none would rejoice more than himself. He was desirous, however, that any discussions which might grow out of this difference, as to the time and means of realizing the object for which they were associated, would be conducted in the true spirit of the principles, which could alone make them beneficial in their results. During his visit to America he intended to meet as many of the friends of social Reform as his time and means would permit, and would endeavour to unite them into one compact body. There were at present threatening clouds in the political horizon, and it was peculiarly necessary that social reformers of all countries should throw the weight of their influence on the side of peace, and he hoped that these threatening appearances would only prove incentives to increased exertions by the friends of peace everywhere. Mr. Owen next good-humouredly alluded to his supposed tendency to aristocracy. Some parties, not seeing so far as an old man of seventy-three, or knowing so much of society as his varied experience had taught him, and therefore unacquainted with the feelings generated in the various classes of which it was composed by the influences surrounding them, had supposed, because he was for adapting his transition measures to the state of feeling thus produced, that he himself was an ingrained, thorough aristocrat. Let such parties know that there never was—perhaps it was impossible there ever again could be, a more determined enemy to inequality than himself. It was the great object of his life to destroy it, but before that object can be accomplished, it must be preceded by equality in education, training,

and social position, by means of which the inferior may be brought up to the standard of the superior classes, instead of bringing down the latter to the level of the former. As an illustration of this, Mr. Owen referred to the pupils of Harmony, and gave an interesting account of his parting with them on the previous Thursday. These children (although the circumstances and arrangements around them were yet far from being what he contemplated) already exhibited the elevating effects of an education conducted upon the principle of equality, administered in the spirit of kindness, and guided by a high sense of what was necessary to the development of all the human faculties. As a proof of this, Mr. Owen related an anecdote respecting a late visit of Sir I. L. Goldsmid, Bart. When he entered the Infant School, he said—"Mr. Owen, I suppose these are all picked children, and belonging to parties moving in the better classes of society." "No," was the reply; "they are the children of ploughmen, sawyers, blacksmiths, and other work-people resident in the establishment. When they first entered the school, they were like ordinary children—some plain in feature, others the contrary—all with the inferior habits incident to their past inferior position: now, as you see, every one is, without exception, entitled to be called beautiful—a beauty arising, not only from comeliness of feature, but that purity and frankness of expression which is their common characteristic. The plain-featured have been made beautiful—the beautiful more so." Such were the effects of comparatively inferior arrangements, not only on the mental and moral, but even the physical being of children, when taken sufficiently early and placed under them. Sir Isaac expressed astonishment and delight at the scene before him, and all who have visited the establishment are impressed with the same feelings. In like manner must those who heard him become little children, and undergo a preparatory training before they could become members of the new moral world to which he looked forward, in which equality would be based on its only true and lasting foundation—equality of position and training, and the universal diffusion of that amenity of manners and catholic charity which imparts the highest zest to life. He said to them, never cease to struggle for equality; but he must add, at the same time, do not be in too great a hurry, lest you defeat your own object by not making sufficient allowance for the feelings and habits inevitably forced upon other classes, and thus driving them from, instead of attracting them to, the cause. He hoped that, during his absence, they would think of these things, and that, on his return, he should find them much improved, and at the same time, to bring such intelligence as would enable him to lead them out of unequal things to less unequal things, in the shortest possible period, and by a road on which one step firmly planted, would never have to be retraced. As this was the last time he should have of meeting them for a long period—if, indeed, they ever met again—he would trespass on

their time a little longer, with a few remarks called for by the present position of the Society's affairs. One difficulty to be removed at Harmony, was the strong desire for democracy. It was no wonder that this desire should extensively prevail among the producing classes in this country, when the treatment they had received from their rulers on the one hand, and the education given to them by their leaders on the other, were taken into consideration. The most forward minds among them had seen no other way to escape from the evils that environed them, than the common notions which democracy afforded them. When he commenced his proceedings at New Lanark, he knew he was going to oppose all the old feelings and prejudices of Tory, Whig, and Radical; but it was necessary to do so, in order to ascertain the best mode of governing man. In that establishment, after selecting for his assistants the parties whom he thought best qualified for the duties they were intended to perform, he ascertained fully their feelings and views as to the management in their own departments, and encouraged the utmost frankness of expression on all matters relating thereto. He heard patiently what they had to urge, and in cases where there was a strong and conscientious conviction that their views were more correct than his own, he said—"Try your own plan, and thereby convince yourself by failure or success of the fallacy or truth of of your notions." By this mode of treatment, the exercise of a little patience, and the expenditure of a little money, he had the satisfaction of carrying with him, in a few years, the hearts and minds of all; and for the last twenty or twenty-five years of his management, there was nothing but pleasure and satisfaction on all hands. Knowing, therefore, that the democratic spirit now existing in the Society must be satisfied in like manner, he had been mainly instrumental in procuring for democracy a full and fair trial; and he now called upon all the friends to the cause, to give it that full and fair trial. Especially did he call upon those who were friendly to the policy and views of the New Executive, to rally round them with funds; and above all, he exhorted the Executive itself to think well and deeply of the important duties it had to perform—and to acquire a knowledge of those principles, by which alone practical measures can be made successful. He would advise them, particularly, to discriminate between true and false economy. There was an enlightened economy—the practice of which produced an ultimate saving of capital, mind, and feeling. It was this economy he recommended for their adoption. Again, with respect to their dealings with each other, and with the world outside of the Society, he recommended the practice at all times of the strictest justice. His own principle of management at all times had been, wherever there was a doubt as to individual claims, always to give the decision in favour of the individuals. He had also made it a rule to reject all tenders for contracts, which he knew could not be honestly carried out; because, he was certain that disho-

nest practices would be the consequence of their acceptance, injurious to him, and not beneficial to those who were compelled to have recourse to them. The same principle he applied to wages and salaries. Liberality was the truest economy. Get at all times the best ability possible for the particular duty to be performed, and pay it well; for whatever was well done, was worth its price; whereas, what was badly done, was a waste of whatever had been paid for it. At New Lanark, he had salaries of all kinds—from 6s. a week to £1,000 a year; and the highest salaries were the most profitable to the establishment. It required, however, judgment in the apportionment of these salaries. He offered these remarks, because he wished above all things that those now in office should succeed in showing what a union of labour and capital, under even disadvantageous circumstances, could do. He had doubts of their success himself—he knew the defects with which they had to contend; but if these doubts were shown to be false, it would be the most valuable demonstration ever given to the world; for if the working classes, with their defective education and training, could achieve success, it would more incontestibly prove the value of the principles on which they were acting, than an experiment carried on with better adapted means. Fervently, therefore, did he hope, on his return, to find them successful. Mr. Owen then proceeded to pass a high and feeling eulogy on Mr. Bate; he reminded the meeting of his great sacrifices of time, money, and ability, to the cause. The whole of a large fortune he had invested in the experiment at Harmony, and he was now (Mr. Owen lamented to say) at once threatened with consumption, and suffering from straitened circumstances. He was, indeed, very ill, and he (Mr. O.) hoped that this amiable, this disinterested, and most valuable friend, would now experience from the Society that generous sympathy and liberal support to which he was so pre-eminently entitled. He called upon the Executive and those present, as a matter of justice, to do all in their power to aid in carrying out those measures that were necessary to the restoration of his health, by removal to a milder climate, or otherwise. In conclusion, Mr. Owen expressed his pleasure at meeting so large and respectable an assemblage of brothers and sisters. How different were his feelings to those of the warrior chieftain, who, after plundering, destroying property, and shedding blood upon a large scale, required parliamentary thanks, titles, and estates, by way, he supposed, of covering the sores of their butcheries, and a compensation to their consciences for the desolation they had caused. For his part, the gratification of meeting them that day, of seeing affection and happiness beam from every eye, and the true temper of Socialism exhibiting itself in every act, was to him the most exquisite gratification of which his nature was susceptible. This very meeting was the highest compensation he could have wished, for any little sacrifices he had made. But why did he talk of sacrifices? His whole

life had been a happy one, and he did not hesitate now to say that there was not a happier man in the world than himself. He had through life opposed Tory, Whig, and Democrat, but he had never opposed *human nature*, and somehow or other he found that human nature had never opposed him. He knew that some of them were afraid that this long voyage and journey would terminate in his death, and that they might never meet again, but he besought them to dismiss such fears. For many years past, he had been growing younger, and he expected that this voyage would make him still more so, and that on his return in spring they would find that he had gone on renewing his youth, (great cheering), Mr. Owen then fervently and solemnly gave his best wishes for the health, happiness, and prosperity, of all present, and resumed his seat amidst enthusiastic, often repeated, and universal applause. His speech was, throughout frequently interrupted by similar manifestations, accompanied by a depth and tenderness of emotion, which we never witnessed at any meeting of human beings, and which testified to the rare and overpowering mastery of this most amiable, benevolent man over the affections of all with whom he comes in contact.

Mrs. CHAPPELSMITH was introduced by the chairman to the meeting, and addressing Mr. Owen said, that though not officially deputed by her sister Socialists, she hoped she might express, on their and her own behalf, and of woman in all countries and ages, her gratitude to the only philosopher who had considered and provided for the happiness of woman her affections and feelings. In every relation of life, as sister, wife, or parent, he had made provision for the development of her highest sensibilities, and for her assuming that place in society which would enable her to exert them happily for herself, and beneficially for her fellow beings. For her own part, when she looked back on her past life, and thought of the light and joy which these principles had thrown upon her path, she could not but— Here Mrs. C., whose emotion was visible throughout, could controul herself no longer, but, deeply affected, sat down in tears, accompanied by most of the ladies present.

Mr. OWEN briefly replied. He well understood the feelings of the lady who had just sat down. He spoke of the prospects of woman in the new civilization which he contemplated. Equality in the social position, and education of the sexes, was the only true precursor of happiness to either. He expressed the pleasure he had derived from his mental intercourse with women: in consequence of their position preventing them from coming in contact with the hardening and vitiating influences attendant upon buying and selling, and other pursuits of competitive life, their readiness to perceive and appreciate truth was much greater than that of men. Their truthfulness, faithfulness, and sensibility to the best feelings, had produced an impression on his mind, that they were better prepared than the other sex for the life of the new moral world. In conclusion,

he referred to the importance of female education everywhere, and especially at Harmony.

MR. ELLIS, moved the following resolution:—“That the proceedings of this meeting be published to the world through the medium of the *Sun* newspaper.” He said many reports would undoubtedly be circulated respecting the Founder of the Rational Society leaving England; some might say that his rebellious children had driven him away, and others that, being dissatisfied with their proceedings, he had disowned them, and left them to return no more. If the proceedings of this day be published, the world will know the truth—the world will know that there is an inseparable connection between the father of Socialism and his children; that our natures would not allow us to part with him who breathed into us the breath of life—who, with the tenderness of a father, corrected our errors—who, with the fondness of a father, pitied our weaknesses—who, with the watchfulness of a father, protected us from danger—who, with the courage of the hero, fought our battles—who, with the disinterestedness and the determination of the philanthropist, sacrificed his all, that we might be benefitted—who, for our sakes became poor, that, not only we, but the whole human race, might be made rich—him whose benevolence knows no bounds, and who, in return, is beloved by all who know him, and most beloved by those who know him best. True, we have met to part with him for a season; it is necessary that he should leave his spiritual children for a time, in order that his natural children may see him once more. We are but a very small part of his family. In every place where his principles have been propagated, meetings like this might be easily convened, and feelings similar to ours would be expressed. The numbers who in this country have been born again by him, are such as cannot easily be numbered; and this day’s transactions will be remembered by them with as much respect as Christians remember the last supper of their Lord. The name of Christ is the Christian’s talisman; not less so the name of Robert Owen to those who understand his principles and know his character. When called upon to meet opposition, to make sacrifices, to suppress angry feelings, to remove the causes of human misery, though it be with the loss of all things, the name of him who spent a princely fortune and active life to save humanity, shall inspire us to deeds more noble than we have ever yet accomplished. The billows of the Atlantic may swell, and hide him from our view, but his presence will be with us still. The sea may roar, but his charitable voice will ring in our ears, to check our passions and subdue our fears. In the name of my brethren, I bid you farewell, but not for ever; if for ever, fare you well. Fare you well, on the sea; may its waves convey you safely to the arms of your family. Farewell as a father; may you find your children healthy and happy.

Farewell as a patriot; may you be able to convince the boasted sons of freedom that they are but slaves, and make the way to liberty so clear to them that they cannot fail to walk therein. Farewell as our father; may you be able to increase our family to an indefinite extent, to unite in the bonds of union the most powerful governments of the world, and to return with more assurance than you now possess, that the time is not far distant, when ignorance, poverty, and crime shall be for ever banished from the earth.

Long continued and rapturous applause followed the conclusion of this spirited and appropriate address, in the midst of which Mr. Clarke called upon

MR. FLEMING, who rose and said, all present were fully aware that, on ordinary occasions, he had the tongue of a ready speaker: on that, however, he had not. Excessive emotion had made him dumb. The thronging ideas which crowded upon his brain—the feelings which struggled in his bosom, were too varied and intense to be resolved into words; and he hoped for this reason they would permit him to be silent—and to accept, as his substitute, one of the oldest, best, tried, and valuable disciples present, Mr. Alexander Campbell—(great cheering.)

MR. ALEXANDER CAMPBELL, in an address of considerable length expressed his views on some speculative points of opinion in which he differed from Mr. Owen, but added his testimony to the valuable exertion and untiring zeal displayed by him on all occasions. He had, he said, known Mr. Owen many years, and the same disinterestedness, benevolence, and generous sympathy for the sufferings of human nature, that distinguished him of old, showed forth as conspicuously now, rendering him alike regardless of his purse, his domestic happiness and even life itself. It was but a short time since, when in company with Mr. Owen after an attempt had been made upon his life by an infuriated mob in the Potteries, that when congratulating him on his escape, Mr. Owen had said, "Our deaths at the present moment would do more for the advancement of Socialism, than £10,000 spent in agitation." How could he or any other man fail to reverence such nobleness of character—(cheers.)

MR. SOUTHWELL, at some length, expressed his regret at the departure of one to whom he said he owed every atom of intellectual power he possessed. It was Mr. Owen's lectures that had lured him from the path of frivolity, and had instilled into his mind a love of science and metaphysical research. How, then, could he remain a silent observer of the proceedings of that day, or fail to join in the general feeling of sincere regret, which pervaded that assembly. He had never been what was called a backbone Owenite, but he was, nevertheless, not insensible to the great merit of Mr. Owen as a moral reformer. He had chosen to address him (Mr. S.) as his young friend, and he felt proud to be his young friend. Mr. Owen had also chosen to refer to him as one of those anxious to get to the new moral

world by a short cut; now, he apprehended this was the object of all true reformers, the gist of the difference being as to what was the shortest cut. It had been said that the faster you galloped on the wrong road, the further you ran from the goal. Now, if it could be shewn that he was upon the wrong road, then, indeed, he was not taking a short cut; but it appeared to him that Mr. Owen had been so accustomed to extensive operations, that he did not rightly estimate the importance of smaller efforts. Napoleon won many of his greatest triumphs by a tact in separating his enemies' forces, and afterwards cutting them up in detail. So it was with Mr. Owen and himself; but still, while he thought freely, and expressed as freely his opinions on points of difference between them, he was compelled to consider Mr. Owen one of the most enlightened and benevolent of men, and trusted soon again to meet him in health and prosperity.

Mr. Southwell was much cheered throughout his speech, and at its conclusion.

[It was the intention to have published in this pamphlet Mr. Owen's eloquent and spirit-stirring valedictory address, for which purpose a special report had been taken; but the great length to which the foregoing report has extended precludes the possibility of doing anything like justice to it; in the space left for that object, and as the best substitute, it has been determined to print entire Mr. Owen's second legacy to the human race, which formed the basis of his address.]

ROBERT OWEN'S SECOND LEGACY TO THE HUMAN RACE.

BEING about to make another voyage to America, and when there, to proceed to the "far west," to visit my family, from whom I have been absent more than ten years; and, being in good health, both of mind and body, it appears useful, and after living many years since my first legacy was given to the world, I should, before my departure from this country, for the benefit of future generations, give a second legacy, containing my subsequently acquired experience. This experience has confirmed me, beyond doubt, in the belief that there is a permanent, progressive, happy futurity for the human race, and that the most ample materials exist, ready to be applied to commence this happy period.

But no separate part of the population of the world can be made permanently happy, until arrangements shall be formed to secure the continual progressive happiness of all.

That a well-prepared, enlightened equality, according to age, can alone secure the permanent well-being and happiness of mankind.

That this equality cannot be attained until the truth, on all the great subjects which permanently influence human happiness, shall be promulgated and made familiar to the public.

That no one has yet been placed within circumstances so advantageous as the writer of this legacy, to declare these all-important truths for the benefit of mankind.

The peculiar position which he has held in society, from his youth upwards, has given him the privilege to announce truths of the deepest and most lasting import to man; truths of such a character that no other individual would venture to declare. He has already demonstrated that the character of the human race, and the constitution of society, over the world, have been based upon such fundamental errors, as to force man from his birth to become an

irrational being, and society an heterogeneous mass of folly—formed apparently to disunite men and nations, create wars and violence, stimulate to insanity and crime, and involve all in ignorance and misery.

That the world has been hitherto governed by force and fraud;—the governments wielding the force, the priesthood directing the fraud.

That this is the present state of the world.

That all that has life is influenced by one universal instinct, which induces each individual existence to desire and endeavour to secure its own well-being and happiness.

That each proceeds in this course according to its knowledge.

That there is no merit or demerit for thus feeling and acting in the tiger or man, dove or woman, lamb or child.

That, consequently, there is no merit or demerit in the governments or priesthood in governing mankind by force and fraud. Their instinctive desire for happiness compels them thus to act.

That the governments and priesthood have the power to govern the human race by force and fraud, or by reason and affection.

Is it the interest, or for the happiness of the individual members of the governments and of the priesthood to continue to govern the world by force or fraud, or is it not? If it is, it is useless and unjust to them, to attempt to persuade them to abandon their course of action; if it is not, they do not see their error, and it becomes the direct and chief business of society to produce such reasons and arguments, in a spirit of charity and good faith, as will convince the individual members of the governments and priesthood, that, by a change of the principles of governing, they will secure permanently far more happiness to themselves individually, and to their offspring as men, than it is possible they can attain as governors and priests, under the system of force and fraud.

That to overturn the system of force and fraud by violence, if practicable, would produce great evil, and be a slow and imperfect mode of ultimately attaining the desired object; neither could it be well accomplished by contests, which would bring all the irrational feelings, forced to form the present character of man, into general and prominent action.

That knowledge acquired by experience now proves that it is no longer the interest of individual governors or priests to govern by force and fraud, and that it will greatly tend to their individual happiness to govern by kindness and justice.

That the former, while continued, must disunite man from man, and nation from nation, over the earth; while the government of affection, directed by sound and experienced judgment, will cordially unite all of the human race.

That man is, to an almost incalculable extent, the creature of surrounding circumstances, if these are inferior or mixed, he will of necessity acquire an inferior or mixed character, as heretofore. But when he shall be placed from his birth within superior circumstances only, then, without any two being the same in the combination of their qualities, all will of necessity be trained from birth to be, compared with the past or present race of men, superior, physically, mentally, morally, and practically.

Having previously declared to the world these everlasting important truths, it is now for me to add those which follow.

1st. As ignorance, poverty, division, injustice, crime, and misery now everywhere superabound, there must be a substantive cause producing these evils, and as man is the creature of the external circumstances placed around him by society, those which create these evils should be sought out and removed.

2nd. The governors and priests have hitherto chiefly directed the creation of the circumstances of human formation, which have afflicted mankind with the evils now enumerated.

3rd. The governors and priests, by their acts of omission or commission, are the real cause, through *their* ignorance, of all the disease, crime, and suffering, or sin and misery of the human race.

4th. It is, therefore, the strongest proof of the gross irrationality, insanity, and madness of the human race, that, at this day, after the experience of the

unknown period of the past, the governors and priests are yet permitted, through ignorance, to create and encourage the daily growth of crime in the people, and that after they have adopted the most effectual means to train and to tempt them to commit every kind of vice injurious to themselves and society—that the governors and priests should punish the poor maltreated mass of ignorant men, for the errors and insanity which their rulers in churches and states have forced upon them.

5th. That thus very ignorant governors and priests adopt laws, founded on the most gross errors, which necessarily force crime upon the still more ignorant people; and then these ignorant governors and priests punish these poor ignorant men and women, both parties, the punishers and punished, being afflicted with mental blindness and insanity.

6th. That were the governors and priests not made from their birth mentally blind and insane, they could now immediately adopt laws in accordance with nature's laws, which would gradually destroy the cause of ignorance, poverty, division, sin, and misery over the world, and in due time terminate also the trinity of evils which are the immediate causes of the irrationality, insanity, and madness of the human race.

7th. That the trinity of evils are—1st., Private property, the cause among innumerable other evils of unnecessary poverty and the fear of it among the mass, and of yet more injurious luxury among those who have more than their fair share of the wealth of society; 2nd., Superstition, the cause of all the insane divisions among the human race, respecting the merit or demerit of opinions which none create for themselves, but which are, unknown to themselves, created for them; and 3rd., The formal marriages of the priesthood of the world, varied as they are in different nations, and among different sects even in the same nation. These all presuppose that humanity has been created with qualities to enable individuals to love and hate at their pleasure, when it has been formed to like that which it feels to be most agreeable, and to dislike that which is experienced to be most disagreeable; and thus these formal priestly marriages counteract nature, and thereby produce continually, in a thousand ways, vice, hatred, and misery, instead of virtue, love, and happiness.

8th. That relief from this trinity of evils can be obtained only by abandoning for ever the *causes* which have produced, and which now daily produce them, namely, the belief that man forms by his will his own personal qualities, his feelings and opinions—not one of which was it ever possible he could create.

9th. That these fundamental errors can be safely and peaceably abandoned only by an entire re-creation of society, based on the knowledge that man does not make his own qualities, feelings, or opinions, and this knowledge will make it evident that there must be a reorganization of society, one in almost all respects the reverse of the existing organization.

10th. In this new organization, society will be universally re-classified and re-constructed; the causes which have produced the trinity of evils will be withdrawn, and the evils will cease, and then wealth will be everywhere superabundant and enjoyed without contest; peace will be universal and permanent; knowledge of the most valuable description will be extended to all; the earth will be highly cultivated in all places, as soon as population can be extended; mechanism and chemistry, and other arts and sciences, will be extended and encouraged, until the labour of men and women shall everywhere become no more than healthy, delightful, and desired exercise; charity and love shall form the characters and govern all the races of men, and the inferior feelings, qualities, and actions of men shall gradually and quietly die their natural death, and be recalled to remembrance only in the past history of our race.

This is the second, and it may be my last legacy; if so, I call upon all the friends of progress to cherish it in their minds, to consider it again and again, for it contains the words of TRUTH, without mystery, mixture of error, or fear of man.

Rose Hill, 4th August, 1844.

ROBERT OWEN.